



WORKS IN PROGRESS

ESTABLISHED IN 1990 BY THE THURSTON COUNTY RAINBOW COALITION

Exclusive interview with Meta Hogan Mayoral candidate explains what Olympia could be

You have said that one of your top issues is making government more open. In what ways is the government of the City of Olympia currently "closed," and what can be done to remedy that?

The yardstick that I use is whether people are able to get the information that they need, and to what extent citizens are invited to participate. The City of Olympia is very open in many ways, with public comment opportunities at council meetings and having the meetings televised.

In my experience, the city staff are very approachable and helpful, and that's one facet of openness. I see a lot of room for improvement in terms of participation, though. I think we can be much more proactive in pulling citizens and community groups into our planning processes and decisions.

People need to know when their input is appropriate and welcome, and those opportunities need to be well-publicized and accessible. From what I've seen, the public comment time available at council meetings is not enough. It's usually too little, too late in terms of participation. The most important part for me is seeing that people have an opportunity to engage with the city government. I would be willing to put in a lot of time and effort to make this happen, because it's part of making sure our community is sustainable.

What specific measures could be undertaken to make Olympia a more sustainable city?

There are a lot of different aspects of a city that can be made sustainable. We do pretty well in many areas, and I see that it's a priority for our citizens as well as for the city. We're moving toward zero-waste, we're using biodiesel, we're funding bike paths and giving out street trees. That's great. One thing that Olympia is behind on right now is long term planning and development. Are our land use policies sustainable? It doesn't look that

way to many people. Given the long term growth projections in Thurston County, we need to be on top of that. I would say we need to take an honest look at how we're managing our resources as a community. There's a lot of great stuff happening at the city level and by some individuals, but I don't know if that gap has been effectively bridged. I would like to see more outreach and education on things that individuals can do and things that neighborhoods or groups can do, at the intermediate level. This is an issue that can really empower us as citizens.

You have stated that improving downtown is one of your goals. What can be done to improve downtown?

Downtown is going to change. There are a number of different ways that it can change.

What I would like to do is look at what's really working. When we talk about a safe and vibrant downtown, we should closely inspect places that we consider "safe," places that are "vibrant," and ask what makes them work. What I see is a theater district, some awesome local restaurants and coffee shops, plenty of art happening, a great public waterfront potential. The places

where people feel unsafe are often the most deserted. We need to bring more people downtown, by adding to the mix of things

to do. Let's figure out how to make our downtown 18 hours a day of lively, welcoming public space, with plenty of stuff for people of all ages to get involved in.

I see a need for more family activities, more late-night alternatives, safe places for youth and young adults to hang out, pocket parks, benches, public restrooms, things like that that would foster a sense of community and help make downtown truly great for everyone. I also think the parking issue needs to be addressed. Getting rid of free parking [downtown] is a real mistake in the short run because it will literally drive people away.

Is downtown Olympia safe?

The thing about city centers is that they tend to be very public neighborhoods, which means they're full of strangers. That's what makes them exciting, because you couldn't have all the cultural and commercial diversity without a wide variety of people. But it's also what sometimes makes them feel dangerous. You're surrounded by strangers, and you just have to hope they're well-intentioned. There are specific things that cities can do to create

safety in neighborhoods, designing spaces to encourage appropriate use, cultivating community ownership so

that citizens themselves are casually enforcing community norms. Olympia was recently voted the fifteenth safest mid-size city in the nation. There's a perception that it's unsafe. There are definitely people who don't feel safe downtown, and the Farmers' Insurance rating is not going to make them feel safer.

We need to ask what are those things that make people feel unsafe, and how do we make them feel safer. My suggestions would be more lighting, increased walking patrol with an emphasis on building relationships, and like I mentioned in the previous question, bring more people downtown. So part of it is helping to keep downtown a safe place to be, and the other part is making it so that people are thrilled to be there.

The most important part for me is seeing that people have an opportunity to engage with the city government.



Photo of Meta Hogan by Amber Forkan

Doug Mah has stated that he is the more qualified candidate because of his experience. Do you think that Doug Mah's experience truly works to his advantage?

Rhetoric like that ignores the fact that everybody has experience. The question isn't whether you have experience or not, the question is what kind of experience do you have and how does that translate to the commitments that you're making.

So, one could look at Doug Mah's experience and come to conclusions about the things that he'll be good at. One could also look at my experience and come to conclusions about things that I'll be good at. I do think that it works against him, because he has a public record that a lot of people don't agree with. As a public official who's campaigned before, he's made promises, and he's had the opportunity to follow through on them. And what I've been hearing is that many of his former supporters are disappointed, because he hasn't followed through. And then there are the people who just disagree with him.

Now he's got the problem of "If that's a priority for you, why hasn't it happened in the last six years you were on council?" I think he's going to have a tough go of it this time, because of his record.

How has your experience prepared you for the role of mayor?

I have a lot of experience working with really diverse groups of people. I have experience with consensus decision making. I have experience gracefully and helpfully taking input from the community. I have experience drawing people in to projects and processes, and inspiring them and getting results. I have been involved in a lot of issues that are vital to making this community work, like public transportation, community policing, downtown safety, housing and youth issues. I have a pretty clear picture of what this community needs,

and I'm ready to get out and make that happen.

How do you feel about warships at Lakefair?

I am really disappointed in the lack of communication that happened around that incident, and I think that this is one of those instances where my approach to open government would make a difference because it's important that people are educated about city decision making. I think the city council made a really difficult budget decision, and failed to adequately educate the public about that decision. The big issue, the one that no one's talking about, is that the city can't afford to do what it's done in the past, and there are likely more cuts coming in the future.

What role do you think The Olympian played in the public misperception of the Lakefair warships incident?

I think that aside from the news section take on it, the opinion page, particularly the letters to the editor, the things that got through there, *The Olympian* provided a forum for people to spread misinformation about how that decision happened, and I think that was irresponsible.

Do you support the City of Olympia taking positions on national and international issues, such as the illegal occupation of Iraq and the nuclear free zone?

I think that there are plenty of local issues that we can find common ground on and get excited about and make a difference with, and I think that the City Council should be willing to look at national and international issues in terms of their impacts on Olympia and the difference that we as a city can make with those issues. Sustainability is a global issue, but that doesn't mean we shouldn't work to improve our practices as a community.

Interview by Janet Blanding.

WORKS IN PROGRESS

Works In Progress is a free, volunteer-operated progressive community newspaper based in Olympia, Washington. Opinions expressed do not necessarily reflect those of *Works In Progress* and are solely those of the authors.

Submissions
Please send text as Word attachments. Artwork and photos can be sent electronically or we can scan them for you as camera-ready/black & white.

WIP reserves the right to publish in whole or part all submissions. For editing purposes, please enclose your phone number.

Articles may be reprinted. Please cite source.

If you don't see your issue being covered in Works In Progress, it's because you aren't writing about it! (Or aren't finding someone else to cover it!)

Send submissions to submissions@olywip.org or mail to Works In Progress, PO Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507-0295.

Governing Tool
The following statement is part of the Editorial Policy and is the governing tool for the Anti-Discrimination Clause:

WIP will make every effort to work with the contributor of material considered by WIP to be offensive in order to reach a mutually agreed upon resolution, but WIP reserves the right as a last resort to edit or not print submitted material.

Mission Statement
"Our aim is to confront injustice and

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encourage a participatory democracy based on economic, social, and environmental justice. *Works In Progress* is dedicated to providing a voice for those most affected by the exclusionary and unfair practices that seek to silence the oppressed."

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We will collectively endeavor to be sensitive and respectful to all those oppressed in this society, and their issues. However, if and when we should make a mistake in this regard, we expect to acknowledge it and to express regret for injury or insult given.

Back Issues
Some back issues are available in the Timberland Library system. *WIP* is being archived on microfilm by the UW Library.

Olympia Co-op offers coupon for donations to Ground Zero Center

2007 marks the twin 30th Anniversaries of two hope-filled local efforts, the Olympia Food Co-op and the Ground Zero Center for Nonviolent Action. In celebration of this spooky coincidence, the Tovarish D. Wagster Fund has arranged a way for Co-op shoppers to feel doubly good about their purchases! Few South Sounders are conscious that the Trident submarine base at Bangor (a mere 20 miles west of Seattle) now houses the nation's largest single stockpile of nuclear warheads. The property of the G.Z. Center directly abuts the Bangor base. A couple of years ago, fire burned the house which had served as the HQ for Ground Zero's bold struggle against nuclear self-annihilation. An ambitious fundraising campaign has been launched to replace the old house with an improved building.

How is this tied to the Co-op? Thanks to a working member's contribution, the first 50 people who send in a donation of \$25 or more to the Ground Zero Building Fund, will receive back a magic green card, which is good for 25% off on all purchases (up to \$100) at either of the Co-op's convenient locations. For more info on the Ground Zero Center and its unrelenting battle against the nuclear dragon, please visit: www.gzcenter.org. Your generous donations can be sent directly to: Ground Zero Center for Nonviolent Action, 16159 Clear Creek Rd. NW, Poulsbo, WA 98370. (Please, be extra sure to mention your interest in the Co-op's 'green card give-away' promo with your donation.)

POWER Mom's Night Out
Monday, October 1, 5:30 pm, First United Methodist Church, 1224 Legion Way SE

Attend Mom's Night Out, the first Monday of every month at the First United Methodist Church, 1224 Legion Way SE. We start at 5:30 with a potluck meal, and meet from 6–8 pm. We provide on-site childcare. On Oct. 1st, we'll make crafts and talk about fundraising. On Nov. 5th, bring your ballot for a roundtable discussion the evening before voting day. Share what you know about the candidates and issues and hear what others have to share.

See related article on page 10.

Female Faces of War and the Iraqi Refugee Crisis
Wed., Oct. 3, 1:00 pm
The Evergreen State College, Sem II, E1105

Female Faces of War is a short documentary film about US women soldiers, soldiers' mothers and Iraqi refugees.

Following the film will be speaker **Zahra Sultan**, an Iraqi social worker and refugee. Originally from Baghdad and featured in the film, Zahra will speak about the crisis for Iraqi refugees, her family's struggle in Iraq and her work in Jordan's refugee camps with Iraqi, Sudanese and Palestinian refugees.

Sponsored by SESAME (Students Educating Students About the Middle East) and the Women of Color Coalition.

What's so scary about justice for Palestine? Academic freedom and Palestine/Israel
Friday, Oct 5, noon
The Evergreen State College, Sem II, E1105

How is academic freedom curtailed nationally when dealing with Palestine/Israel? In what ways has this affected teaching locally? What makes the conflict difficult to talk about on campus?

In the wake of the attacks on Norman Finkelstein and Nadia Abu Al-Haj, join a round table discussion about the affects of silencing campus and academic discussion of the Israel/Palestine conflict with **Simona Sharoni**, Women Studies Associate Professor at Plattsburg SUNY and former Evergreen Faculty, and **Therese Saliba**, Evergreen's Professor of Middle East Studies and Third World Feminism.

Film showing: Broken Limbs
Friday, Oct. 5 at 7 pm, Olympia Unitarian Universalist Congregation, 2200 East End Street NW in West Olympia.

Presented by the Alliance for Democracy and the Olympia Unitarian Universalist Social Justice Committee. Catch this movie series every First Friday of the month. Details at www.sounddemocracy.org.

Broken Limbs explores these hopeful stirrings within agriculture, and outlines ways in which any individual can play a role in saving US farmers. Told from a hometown perspective, the film presents the stories of farmers attempting to create this new model for agriculture and emerging, more sustainable solutions to the crises of recent years solutions applicable not just to apples and not just to farming, but to nearly any sector of the US economy troubled by the effects of consolidation and globalization. www.brokenlimbs.org

UPCOMING EVENTS

CLIP presents: The Focus on Poverty Olympia City Council Candidate Forum
Saturday, October 6, 1–3 pm
First Christian Church (701 Franklin St)

Come question your city council candidates about homelessness, low-income rental conditions, and the realities of welfare in Olympia. Ask your candidates about the issues you care about. What will they do about police accountability? What about Tent City? The war?

The **Coalition for Low-Income Power** is a network of poverty activist and individuals and groups. The CLIP Panel will consist of representatives of **Thurston County Tenants Union**, **POWER** and **Bread & Roses**.

Pro-Choice counter-protest of the 40-day vigil outside Planned Parenthood
Friday, October 12, 10:30 am–noon, 1–2 pm, outside Planned Parenthood at the corner of Legion Way and Adams Street in downtown Olympia

Come out and show your support for birth control. Anti-choice demonstrators are trying to discourage people from utilizing the services of Planned Parenthood with grisly signs and a constant presence during their 40-day vigil. Let's send a positive message to the community about the medically accurate information about sexuality and birth control provided by Planned Parenthood. Don't let the "pro-lifers" turn back the clock on choice!

29th Annual Sausage Fest
Oct. 12–13, 2007, 4–8 pm, Gull Harbor Lutheran Church (4610 Boston Harbor Rd. NE)
All proceeds go to Thurston County Food Bank, Safe Place, and Lutheran World Relief.

Menu: Sausages (Kielbasa, Bratwurst, Knackwurst); German potato salad; Red Cabbage; Strudel; Root beer. Enjoy live accordion music (in traditional costume) while you are dining.
Cost: \$12 adults, \$5 kids. For more information, call (360) 352-5335.

OFS Special Membership Meeting
Saturday, October 13th, 12 pm, Capitol Theater, 206 E. 5th Avenue, downtown Olympia

On Sept. 11, the Board of Directors of the Olympia Film Society received a petition signed by 10% of the general membership requesting a special meeting of the membership be called. In accordance with the request, this meeting is to vote whether to change current OFS bylaws to provide for election of OFS Board members by the membership, and to vote whether to immediately hold elections to constitute a new interim Board until the next Annual Membership Meeting. Only these topics may be discussed at the special meeting.

You must be present at the meeting to vote. A two-thirds majority vote of members in attendance will be required to pass these proposals. Any member of the Society wishing to stand for Board election, should the proposals pass, is encouraged to do so. For more information, please see the materials posted in the Capitol Theater lobby or visit olyfilmsociety.org.

PFLAG silent auction
Sat., Oct. 13, 7–9 pm at the Unitarian Universalist Congregation, 2200 East End Street NW, Olympia

Money raised at this auction will support our outreach to the community, which includes printing and distributing informational and educational brochures, the "I'm loved by PFLAG" stickers, arranging public speaking events, and providing free Pancakes in the Park for Pride. We maintain a helpline and answer many calls for help, information and resources.

To donate auction items or ask questions contact Shirley Pearson at 943-9590 or e-mail her at shirley.jp@comcast.net

PFLAG monthly meeting
Sunday, October 14, 2–4:30 pm
First United Methodist Church, 1224 Legion Way SE at Boundary Street in Olympia.

We will have an unstructured discussion following introductions, announcements, support time and snacks. Use the entrance facing 5th Avenue. It is handicap-accessible. Visit www.pflag-olympia.org for more information.

"Jerusalem Dispossessed," Photographic Exhibition
Oct. 17–Nov. 6, Evergreen State College Library, Opening reception on October 17 at 7 pm

Want to know what life is like for Palestinians living under Occupation? Come and experience the real-life imagery and world-renowned poetry of "Jerusalem Dispossessed," which is on view at the library of the Evergreen State College from October 17 through November 6.

This collection of color photographs is on loan from the **Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions** (www.icahd.org), features the photographic excellence

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Brian Baird went to Iraq and all he got was a burqa from Afghanistan

by Phan Nguyen

Representative Brian Baird of Washington’s 3rd Congressional District has been in the media spotlight ever since returning from a trip to Iraq in August and proclaiming both his support for the troop “surge” and his rejection of a timeline for withdrawal. He has made several media appearances, including MSNBC, CNN, NPR, PBS, and conservative talk radio, where he is portrayed as a staunch antiwar Congressman who made a complete turnaround after he witnessed the reality on the ground of Iraq. But what’s missing from this picture?

How many Iraq trips?

Baird has staked his authority on trips he made to Iraq. On NPR’s *All Thing Considered*, Baird claimed to have been “on the ground several times now.” In an interview with *Willamette Week*, Baird explained, “There’s no substitute to being on the ground. I recognize that in a few days it would be presumptuous to believe one’s an expert. But I’ve been there five times in the last five years, twice in the last four months.” However, this is deliberately misleading.

Baird has only visited Iraq twice, once from May 21–22 and once from August 11–12. Both happened this year. Each time, he was in Iraq overnight for just one night, meaning that each trip was approximately 1–1/2 days long, or *a total of about 3 days in Iraq over a period of two trips.*

What Baird means when he says he’s “been there five times” is that he has been to the Middle East five times. The other times refer to places in the Middle East outside of Iraq. In 2006, Baird traveled to Egypt to attend the World Economic Forum. In 2002 and perhaps early 2003, Baird had also traveled to Jordan and Egypt, as well as to Israel on an AIPAC-sponsored itinerary. (When contacted, Baird’s office did not have the full details or exact dates on these trips.)

This means that when he boasts that he has been “to the region five times,” only two of those trips were actually to Iraq. A third trip was for the World Economic Forum.

And the other two trips to the Middle East region occurred *before the 2003 invasion of Iraq.*

Thus his reliance on his “on the ground experience” is exaggerated, and has led to misleading claims such as in this interview with the conservative magazine *National*

If Baird is not confident enough to be candid about the length of time he spent in Iraq, he should not rely on it to stake his authority on matters relating to the Iraq occupation.

Review: “Having been there, in the region five times and in Iraq itself two times in just the last four months, I think it’s pretty clear to me that a premature withdrawal would lead to greater chaos in the country and that that chaos would expand within the region.”

We are supposed to believe that a trip to Egypt *before the Iraq war began* somehow convinced Baird that the US should not withdraw from Iraq now. As well, his claim that he had been “in Iraq itself two times in *just* the last four months,” is misleading, since those were the *only* two times he had *ever* been in Iraq. This cannot be dismissed as a simple misstep but is rather a talking point that Baird has repeatedly employed and is central to his arguments.

For instance, Baird made the same claims with Wolf Blitzer on CNN:

My belief is, after having been there a couple of times in just four—in the last four months—and five times to the region, is that if we talk about premature withdrawal, it actually makes it more difficult, not less difficult, to resolve the political situation.

His unwillingness to be more straightforward about his time in Iraq led Blitzer to finally ask, “How long were you in Iraq that you could come up with that conclusion?”

Baird again chose to be vague or at least circumlocutious: “Well, I’ve been to Iraq on—for two days but in the surrounding region for a total of eight this time five days just four months ago.” Whatever that means.

This ambiguity led many to misinterpret the length and times he spent in Iraq. *Willamette Week* mistakenly reported that Baird spent “eight full days in volatile Iraq.” Tucker Carlson called Baird a “credible voice” because he had “been to the region three times.” The *Stranger* misquoted him as saying, “I’ve been to Iraq five times,” or else Baird had managed to confuse himself. *The Columbian* of Vancouver published an editorial praising Baird and claiming he had “been to Iraq five times.”

We should conclude from this that if Baird is not confident enough to be candid about the length of time he spent in Iraq, he should not rely on it to stake his authority on matters relating to the Iraq occupation.

Was there a conversion?

It has been taken for granted that Baird was a consistent opponent of the war and that his conversion occurred only after his August trip to Iraq, what the *Daily Astorian* called a “Baghdad epiphany.” This assumption

Baird’s opposition to the war has always been opposition to the war having ever started, and never a blanket opposition to the continuing war and occupation.

tion is partly Baird’s fault, as he constantly reminds people that he had “voted against the war from the outset.” In interviews and meetings, Baird has neither confirmed nor denied that his viewpoint significantly changed after his last trip to Iraq, leaving questions of that nature unaddressed.

Yet the record shows a more gradual and subtle position that has never been a strong antiwar stance. A few days after the start of the war, Baird voted for H.Con.Res. 104, “Expressing the Support and Appreciation of

the Nation for the President and the Members of the Armed Forces Who are Participating in Operation Iraqi Freedom.” In its “whereas” clauses, the resolution justified regime change, implied that Saddam had weapons of mass destruction, and provided support for the war. Further it resolved to express:

“unequivocal support and appreciation...to the President as Commander-in-Chief for his firm leadership and decisive action in the conduct of military operations in Iraq as part of the on-going Global War on Terrorism.”

Following criticism from his constituents for voting for the resolution, Baird issued a public statement that the resolution was necessary to “support the troops.” Although the resolution did express support for “members of the United States Armed Forces serving in Operation Iraqi Freedom, who are carrying out their missions with excellence, patriotism, and bravery,” along with support for their families, Baird made no attempts to justify the other 80% of the resolution which repeated pro-war lies, distortion, and rhetoric, and that congratulated Bush for executing the war.

This resolution was the first clear indication that Baird’s stance was never simply anti-war. More accurately, Baird took the position that he would oppose the war before it began, but once it began, he would offer his support. That is, his opposition to the war has always been *opposition to the war having ever started*, and never a blanket opposition to the continuing war and occupation.

This stance was reiterated this August on NPR: “I still believe the invasion itself was a horrific mistake, but once we’re there, we have to do what we can to try to make the best of this.”

To Tucker Carlson: “I believe, frankly, that the invasion of Iraq was one of the greatest foreign policy mistakes in the country, and I still believe that. However, once we had made that commitment and were on the ground, I pretty steadfastly op-

Brian Baird at the Olympia town hall meeting, September 21, 2007. Photo by Rob Whitlock.

► BAIRD continues on page 8



The Fight to Suppress Reproductive Rights Heats Up

Tides turn as birth control prices rise, Stormans supporters get cruel

by Janet Blanding

The continued right to reproductive freedom is looking bleaker and bleaker for women in the United States. Buoyed by recent victories both locally and nationally, the anti-choice movement is turning up the heat, with organized, well-funded efforts to suppress not only a woman's right to abortion, but to prevent everyone's access to birth control.

As college women return to campuses across the country this fall, they are finding that the prescription birth control pills they were previously able to obtain from campus health services for a few dollars a month have risen in price over 200%, now often costing more than \$40 a month – a difficult sum for students on a tight budget. This sharp increase is due to the Budget Deficit Reduction Act of 2005, which went into effect in January 2007, and cut deeply into drug discounts for colleges and universities.

Access to birth control is also being blocked through increasingly well organized “pro-life” vigils outside of Planned Parenthood clinics throughout the country. Locally, “Show the Truth” fanatics spend long hours near the Planned Parenthood on Legion Way, displaying grisly signs with photos of dismembered fetuses, despite the fact that no late-term abortions are performed at the clinic.

Pro-choice

advocates have countered with signs supporting Planned Parenthood, but there's no telling how many people seeking affordable birth control, a large proportion of them low-income, have been deterred from obtaining them by all the commotion.

One woman reported that the anti-choice demonstrators harassed her as she went to pick up some tax forms at the IRS office, which is housed in the same building.

Harassment outside of Planned Parenthood clinics will increase in the near future, not only in Olympia but in the entire country, as an organization called 40 Days for Life launches a 40-day vigil on September 26. Opponents of reproductive rights plan to pray and fast outside of clinics in 89 cities, including Olympia. Although their web-

Buoyed by recent victories, the anti-choice movement is turning up the heat, with organized, well-funded efforts to suppress not only a woman's right to abortion, but to prevent everyone's access to birth control.

in a Christian manner,” recent conduct on the part of rabid anti-choice demonstrators makes that seem unlikely.

At a recent rally outside of Ralph's, self-proclaimed Stormans supporters showed up and spent an hour and a half shouting their thanks to Ralph's shoppers, and yelling abuse at the boycott advocates, who included state representative Brendan Williams, as they stood peacefully holding picket signs. Among other things, the anti-choicers made racial slurs against boycotters, told a 14-year-old girl that “your mother is teaching you to be a whore,” and asked a visibly pregnant boycott supporter



Would you let this guy determine any life-altering choice you made? Photo by Janet Blanding

site claims that “The vigil is peaceful; participants sign a ‘Statement of Peace’ with a pledge that they will conduct themselves

why she didn't “just scrape this one out.” One anti-choice demonstrator ignored her five-year-old son as he stood in the street and threw rocks at cars – she was too busy talking on her cell phone and shouting at pro-choice picketers. (Apparently, providing adequate care for children who are already born is not on the “pro-life” agenda.) As pro-choice demonstrator Carolyn La Fond, who has spent many hours picketing in front of both Ralph's and Planned Parenthood,

pressed a hope that more liberal and moderate congregations would “speak up and say we are the mainstream Christians, not the Westwood Baptists and the Church of Living Water.”

Consumer action against Ralph's, in the form of picketing and boycotting, is becoming increasingly important as legal recourse is blocked by bureaucratic timidity and conservative jurists.

The Washington State Board of Pharmacy, under pressure by a lawsuit filed by Stormans Inc. against the Board as well as the state Human Rights Commission, closed

The anti-choicers made racial slurs against boycotters, told a 14-year-old girl that “your mother is teaching you to be a whore,” and asked a visibly pregnant boycott supporter why she didn't “just scrape this one out.”

points out, it's ironic that such “venomous attacks are coming from these assemblies of God.”

La Fond is quick to point out that many church members are supportive of a woman's right to control her own body. She ex-

nine complaints against Ralph's Pharmacy without taking disciplinary action, a disappointment for local activists. With 14 additional complaints against Ralph's recently filed, the outlook for these complaints is better since tighter regulations regarding stocking and dispensing drugs (including emergency contraception) were enacted in July 2007 after the initial complaints were filed. However, the complaint process is slow, and the lawsuit against the state may complicate matters. Furthermore, the lawsuit is being heard in federal court by Justice Ronald C. Leighton, who was appointed by George W. Bush; judges appointed by “Bush Two” tend to be more conservative even than Reagan and “Bush One” appointees.

A large pro-choice demonstration is being planned for Friday, Oct. 12, outside of Planned Parenthood on Legion Way, from 10:30 a.m. to 1:30 p.m. For upcoming pickets outside of Ralph's, please checkout the website <http://www.planboly.org>.

Janet Blanding is a pro-choice single mother and birth control advocate living in Olympia.



Mother applauds lack of free will to chagrin of child. Photo by Janet Blanding

MANIUM COLLECTIVE VS. CITY OF OLYMPIA

Out of nowhere, the bureaucracy cries sprinklers

by Chris Beug

The Manium, a collectively run, all-ages venue that has been in operation for the last four years at 421 Fourth Avenue in downtown Olympia, has been closed by the city of Olympia for doing an unpermitted remodel that allegedly makes the building unsafe. There are many small details that need to be addressed, but the main contention point is the need for the installation of an automatic sprinkler system. Whether or not this is actually necessary depends on how you interpret and apply the International

Building Code (IBC). There are many factors dictating in which cases it is necessary to install sprinklers. It is not difficult to imagine an arrangement that satisfies the code and allows Manium to operate without spending \$100,000+ on a sprinkler system. It is not easily possible to even get a bid from a sprinkler company as the necessary utilities aren't available on site. It would be necessary to bring the line across 4th Ave, adding a huge expense to an already extremely expensive undertaking. City officials have stated that they recognize how important the Manium is to the local music scene and

how important such a thing is to the city as a whole, but they have yet to even consider a plan of how to allow it to continue. In the last four years, Manium has hosted bands from all over the world and showcased local music. Time and time again the words, "This place is our life," "my home away from home," "the only place I can express myself" are spoken by area youths. The Manium collective has put forth a great deal of effort to create a space that does not support racist, sexist, homophobic, or otherwise bigoted ideals, to create a safe space for members of this community, to

create a space that captures the magic of a vibrant underground music scene, and to create a space that will keep Olympia a haven for artists, musicians and other beautiful weirdos. There is no life/safety issue. The building is not unsafe, just as the many buildings in Olympia that do not have sprinkler systems are not unsafe. There is no good reason for Manium to remain closed, only a bureaucratic one.

Chris Beug is a founding member of the Manium Collective.

► **ANNOUNCEMENTS** continued from page 2 of the ActiveStills collective, and is presented by **SESAME**.

SESAME invites community members to the opening celebration of this gripping exhibit on Wednesday, Oct. 17 at 7 pm. The program for the evening will include a reading by Palestinian-American journalist and poet, **Muna Hamzeh**, author of *Refugees in Our Own Land*. Mark your calendar for this singular event! For more info, contact sesame@evergreen.edu, (360) 867-6724.

Film showing: Crossing Arizona

Friday, October 19th at 7 p.m., Olympia Unitarian Universalist Congregation, 2200 East End Street NW, West Olympia.

Presented by the Alliance for Democracy and the Olympia Unitarian Universalist Social Justice Committee. *Crossing Arizona*: Seen through the eyes of frustrated ranchers, border patrol agents, local politicians, farmers dependent on an illegal work force, seasoned humanitarian activists, desperate migrants preparing for their journey north, and the Minutemen who have become darlings of the national media, this powerful documentary unveils the complicated dilemmas presented by the border crisis and the surprising political stances people take when immigration and border policy fails everyone, on all fronts. crossingaz.com

POWER Member/Board Meeting

Saturday, October 20th, 11 a.m. to 2 p.m., Fertile Ground Guest House, 311 9th Avenue

We'll share a potluck lunch and have on-site childcare. Help us finish our work on values and craft a mission statement. Members will vote on a permanent Board of Directors. Let us know if you would like to be a candidate.

See related article on page 10.

David Barsamian speaks at Evergreen

Thurs, Oct. 25, noon, The Evergreen State College
Armenian-American writer and radio broadcaster David Barsamian will speak at Evergreen. Barsamian is the founder and director of **Alternative Radio**. His latest book is *Targeting Iran*.

Rod Coronado ends in mistrial!

WIP was happy to learn of the mistrial of Earth Firster and animal liberationist Rod Coronado. Hopefully, Coronado will get through his next case with similar to better results. For details, contact olycivlib@list.riseup.net.

Local organizer discusses islands: Cuba and Media

Long-time Olympia resident, Rick Fellows, was one of the primary founders of Media Island (816 Adams St.), a 21-year old activist center "dedicated to provide access to alternative media and first-hand sources of information regionally, nationally, and internationally." The center is also "committed to collecting, processing, and distributing crucial information addressing the social justice, economic democracy, ecological sustainability and peace issues that we all collectively face." Along with an active presence at the center, Fellows also annually participates in international aid caravans, primarily for IFCO (Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization), that have traveled to Chiapas, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Cuba. In this interview, Fellows talks about the current federal treatment of caravans to Cuba and where Media Island is in new developments .

You've been on the caravan a number of years, how has it changed in terms of the US policy crossing the border and the direct ways in which the law enforcement treat everybody on the caravan both coming to Cuba and back from?

On the first caravan, they lined up a lot of police and huge tow trucks. It was very intimidating. I think they thought we were going to put our tail up between our legs and run. They attempted to stop us but what we did was started hand-carrying the items across the border. It forced them to arrest people carrying one of five items that were carefully selected to challenge the nature of the embargo and illustrate the nature of the embargo. Critical medicines, powdered milk, bibles in Spanish. The charges were dropped.

In every event, they've let us go because it looks bad and creates press for our cause. If they actually detain us, it's an international news story: the US is preventing the export of humanitarian aid.

In recent years, they've tried to demonstrate that they're enforcing the embargo usually by attempting to seize all of our computers. In the case of the last caravan, they seized a token amount of computers that were not even the best computers we had on the caravan.

What is the history of federal prosecution or assessment of charges against caravanistas (people on the caravan)?

There's never been charges related to the actual embargo. In the two previous years to this one, everybody got Treasury Department letters asking for information that would lead to your prosecution. If you read the Fifth Amendment of the Constitution, you're not required to supply information that could lead to your prosecution. They're not allowed to compel you to self-incriminate. Apparently, the Treasury Department doesn't know basic provisions of the Constitution. If they want to prosecute you, they have to do the investigation to prove that you broke the law. For all they know, you could've been fully hosted, not spent money in Cuba. In the case of the caravanistas, that's the case. You're not dealing in cash, you're not paying for your meals unless you want to.

What is the experience like for caravanistas who get into Cuba and how does their experience tend to differ from

someone who managed to make it through via a flight to Mexico or Canada on their own or with a small group of friends, privately going?

When you go with a caravan, you're treated like any international solidarity organization, you'll have Cuban greeters, people that work with the Cuban Institute for Friendship of the People. They can help provide transportation and logistics of arranging visits.

People that just land in Cuba don't really have a connection. Cuba is a country with a certain shortage of creature comforts and people are looking to be able to buy stuff, have some money. Unfortunately, people who go to Cuba on their own will encounter people who are working them one way or another because they're tourists. There's a different interface [between tourists and caravanistas]. Individual travelers need to know that. Especially if they're going there hoping to learn Cuba's a terrible place US propaganda says it is.

A lot of people secretly want to believe that the US is not as bad of a neighbor to Latin America as they're made out to be by the Left. If somebody tells them terrible things about Fidel Castro and how little freedom of speech they have, there's a lot of people from the US who like to hear that and the Cubans know.

If a Cuban walks up to a North American and says "you know, you're government is really ugly to our country and it's really bad that your country lacks medical care and has people sleeping under bridges, homeless in the rain and snow. That's really bad." You know, the North American is not going to [reply] "Oh, can I buy you a meal at the Paladar so you can tell me about it?" If a Cuban walks up to a North American and says "Let me tell you about how Fidel Castro kills old men and feeds the meat to small children," the North American will buy them a meal and buy them lots of beers to hear these kinds of tales.

There's a lot of guilt in [the US] and [travelers] don't want it reinforced. A lot of people going to Cuba are not as political necessarily. There's a lot of people who want to go for the beaches or because it's cool to have been to Cuba. People who go in solidarity travel will meet Cubans proud of their revolution and of the country's accomplishments.

So what have been recent developments with Media Island: maintenance, income, different projects like KOWA, what's the overall state?

We've been in a financial crunch. Summertime tends to be that way for organizations but Media Island has special needs to finance the expenses of a house every month. Sometimes it becomes too much of a treadmill where we're not doing forward thinking. We're not as much able to launch campaigns outside of paying money for the bills. We can do good work. We do a lot of events, films, public speakers and that's how we've been paying the bills.

I think we underestimate at Media Island how much really good work has come out of there and how much we've accomplished. We look at what other organizations accomplish and maybe they do what they do well but they're biting off a smaller piece of the pie to chew on than we are. Because we're trying to support a wide range of projects.

We've got fiscal sponsorship programs, maintaining the house, maintaining the technical infrastructure, upkeeping a library, keeping a kitchen clean and functioning, keeping a radio station going.

It seems like a lot of media groups nationwide have gained a lot of staying power in the last five years. Has that fostered any newfound alliances, being exposed to groups like Free Press or Reclaim Democracy?

That's what Media Island would like to be most focused on because media draws together so many different issues.

Media in itself is like a second issue. Media concentration and all that, why does that matter? It matters because really bad decisions are imperiling the world's future and well-being of people all over the planet now. Suffering under policies of US-backed governments. US-directed financial institutions that pull strings all over the world. All kinds of global disasters are happening partly because of lack of public information in the United States about how responsible the United States was and is. And how really important it is that the public do something about how bad corporations have gotten in this country and how this country acts like a rogue around the world. And the reason they can get away with it is because a few companies control our media and the public thinks its all Mr. Rogers Neighborhood. And it's not. It's gangland.

This government is like a mafia hit team and it's been like that for a long time.

Media is secondary in a certain sense to a lot of principles issues. But people that care about any issue should become a media activist and become focused on educating the public that we need a consciousness movement that relates to media. Where do we get our information? Are we self-respecting people? Do we get our information from General Electric? Could it be that we're letting ourselves be manipulated? Does having a big ego interfere with our ability to accept the idea that we might be manipulated? And we learn to have big egos early on. Our schools socialize us from very young to be ego-motivated and competitive. It's set up in the public education system. It's shameful how little people in the United States are willing to admit they're brutally manipulated.

If Media Island were able to be better organized. If we had more volunteers or if more people could focus more time on it, some of the best spent time would be networking with other media activist organizations and work with them to build more of a movement around media issues.

*Interviewed by Brendan Funtek.
For more info on Cuba caravans, visit www.ifconews.org. For more info on Media Island, visit www.mediaisland.org or call 360-352-8526*

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Living anarchism

The story of George Sossenko

by Brendan Maslauskas Dunn

I think back to the time I spent with George and I keep on telling myself, “it was just a dream; it was just a dream.” It wasn’t.

I met George Sossenko, 88, at an anarchist workshop at the United States Social Forum in Atlanta this past June. I found his phone number and was able to track him down to talk to him before I left town. He and his wife Birdie picked me up for lunch and I spent the next few hours talking with him about the Spanish Civil War, anarchism and revolution.

When George first met me, he was sporting a red and black flag button with the acronyms CNT and AIT and the word *antifascista* emblazoned in bold black letters. He told me in a slight French accent, “I am a worshiper of logic.” I soon found out that

George told me of the anarchist revolution in Ukraine in 1918 where Makhno helped mobilize Ukrainian peasants and workers and bravely fought off counter-revolutionary White armies, authoritarian Communists and Ukrainian nationalists, all the while defending a communal way of life built on ideas of mutual aid and cooperation.

George also described Makhno’s flight to Paris where he eventually died (when George was just a teenager). George’s friend told him about Makhno after the revolutionary’s death and both decided to attend his memorial ceremony. George met Alexander Berkman there and very soon after became immensely interested in anarchism, in both thought and practice.

That interest has never waned over the years; it’s only intensified.

Our talk was filled with sadness and frus-

tion I have with anarchism, as experienced and lived at its height in Spain, has been in books. Hearing from someone who lived in an anarchist society, fought for it and believes that it can happen again was a surreal experience. He described a society without police or courts, prisons, priests, hierarchy, government, capitalism, a society without bosses and masters. He told me how happy people were to live their lives – to really live their lives. This was a society, he said, where “the union was in power”.

This society where the union (in Spain’s case the CNT) was in power had a lasting effect on George. He was at the US Social Forum every day starting at 8 a.m. where he spent time volunteering at the Veterans for Peace booth, frequented workshops and discussions, and found time to help with translating at the forum (he speaks seven or eight languages). He and his wife often have meetings together because they’re “too involved” and sometimes need a little rest.

Age has taken a hold of George Sossenko but he still seems young, active and very much alive. I remember once looking at pictures of Lenin taken before, during and after the Bolshevik Revolution. It looked like he aged 20 years in the span of five. For Lenin, Revolution was a tiresome and stressful affair; by no means liberating. The Russian Revolution killed him – stress killed him. Lenin breathed death into the people of Russia and Eastern Europe and in time his breath caught up with him. George had a vastly different experience with the revolution in Spain.

Through George’s eyes, I could see that the revolution in Spain wasn’t just a single spectacular historical event. It wasn’t something that rose and fell, lived and abruptly died. I can hear the revolution in his voice and see it in his eyes. The revolution isn’t something constrained by time and space. It didn’t start in Spain and it didn’t end there either. I felt it in Atlanta when I was there. I feel it now.

Brendan Maslauskas Dunn is a member of the Olympia chapter of Students for a Democratic Society and is a delegate for CNT’s sister union – the IWW. He can be reached at maslauskas@riseup.net. You can read Brendan’s full report of the US Social Forum at www.tacomadsd.org.

A political

Dear John

to US Rep.

Brian Baird

TO: Congressman Brian Baird, Washington State, 3rd District
FROM: Curt Pavola

Brian,
This is my moment as an American, as a voter, to shape the future of our world.

I’m amazed and saddened that you’ve chosen a pro-conflict role in world history. You’ve made a fundamental shift in alliances, and humanity, perhaps for generations, will now be suffering directly by your hand.

You’re playing the inside game of the rich and powerful. The people on all sides in Iraq become chess pieces; the important people are the politicians and business executives who conquer, nation-build and create wealth.

Is it possible that you’ve experienced things your constituents will never see; heard “secret” information that supports your conclusions? Certainly. Is it also possible that the war-making perspective is sold with biased beliefs, unfounded fears and hidden interests and agendas? Yep.

My duty as a citizen at this time in history...the most important moment in my life as a free person in a democratic society...is to vote for, advocate for and fund a progressive candidate for Congress who will represent me and work against the political-economic machinery of war. Apparently, you are now the political-economic machinery of war.

An American occupying force and our hand-picked puppet government are not going to stem the tide of historical human conflict in the Middle East. We are fueling the conflict. You are fueling the conflict. It is horrendous that anyone dies because of America’s political and economic ambitions. However, more people will die under your plan than under an expeditious end to international aggression.

Brian, I’m copying this message to many people throughout our congressional district because I haven’t received any response to my recent critical correspondence about your activities, and I’m not sure you even read your mail. I am disappointed in you, to say the least, and angered by my federal government for sure. I can’t really say “I am ashamed to be an American,” so long as I have the freedom to say “I am ashamed to be an American.” But I ain’t a happy American.

Sadly,
Curt Pavola,
Lifelong 3rd Congressional District Resident

As a “worshiper of logic”, George was able to see through the commissarocracy and bureaucracy that developed in authoritarian communist systems.

this was certainly the case. He told me that he’s a “fourth generation atheist – God has never entered my house.” I asked him to tell me about the Spanish Civil War. He and his wife Birdie told me that if the revolution in Spain had been successful, both the Holocaust and the Second World War would never have occurred. History would have been dramatically different. When we all sat down for lunch, he pulled out a leather-bound binder and showed me a dozen articles and a few pictures. One picture was of him and three of his comrades in Aragon, Spain, all of them wearing the signature Durruti Column cap. “I was 16 years old in this picture; I was just a little boy.”

George joined the International Brigades in his home country of France at the age of 16. He went to Spain by way of Andorra and fought in Barcelona, near Madrid and in Aragon. He soon joined both the Durruti Column and the CNT (the anarchist union federation Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo).

I asked George how he initially became attracted to anarchism and he told me it was because of capitalism – the fact that in any day one person can make \$10,000 and another only \$2. I asked him the same question again later and he said, “I already told you” then paused and asked, “Do you know who Nestor Makhno is?” I nodded.

tration. George spoke of Guernica, the betrayal by the West during the revolution, how the Russians “liberated” Makhno’s family in France from the fascists, only to throw them in the gulags in Russia. He told me about people’s fascination with and attraction to communism when he was younger. But as a “worshiper of logic” he was able to see through the commissarocracy and bureaucracy that developed in authoritarian communist systems. He also spoke of the youth. He was very inspired and excited by the dedication, seriousness and commitment of younger people at the US Social Forum. But he also spoke of the apathy expressed by many young people today – very similar to a form of disinformation he witnessed as fascism spread throughout Europe in the 30s and 40s. He told me that when he was younger than me students in France would have fistfights and battles in the streets and at universities over politics. It was a war in the most literal sense. I thought maybe he was hinting at and hoping for student and youth militancy and greater organization in this country.

Living anarchism

When George told me about Spain when he was there, a society he witnessed, experienced, felt, lived, I hung on every word that escaped his mouth. The only connec-



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Opposing the attack of Iran

A Green Party delegation report to Sen. Patty Murray's office

by Frances Hogan, M.D.

On Sept. 12, I was fortunate to be a part of a Green Party delegation to Senator Patty Murray's office. We met with Ardis Dumont, Senator Murray's Director of Special Projects, to talk about the impending US military action against Iran.

We were from Iran, Pakistan, India, as well as the Puget Sound area, and counted Muslims, Jews, and Christians among us. Individuals represented various groups: American Muslims of Puget Sound (AMPS), Ground Zero, Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR), One Earth, StandUp! Seattle, Physicians for Social Responsibility, Raging Grannies, Green Party, coordinating council of Green Party of Washington State (GPoWS) and Green Party Peace Action Committee (GPAX), a national peace action committee of the Green Party of the United States (GPUS).

The delegation called upon Senator Murray to:

Act to rescind the July 2007 Lieberman amendment to the Defense Authorization Act (S.Amdt.2073) that holds the government of Iran responsible for insurgent attacks against US forces. S.Amdt.2073

passed through the Senate two months ago with a 97-0 vote. However, military statistics leaked to the *Los Angeles Times* show the largest number of foreign militants and suicide bombers came from Saudi Arabia (45%), Syria and Lebanon (15%) and North Africa (10%).

Pass an Act of Congress stating that the 2001 Authorized Use of Military Force (AUMF) does not authorize a preemptive strike against Iran or a strike in response to an alleged provocation, i.e. Gulf of Tonkin.

Cut off funding for any war with Iran not specifically authorized by Congress.

Other members contributed significant opinions and information.

Mohsen Banan, an Iranian-American, noted that he is fluent in Farsi and finds many English translations of Iranian officials to not be completely accurate. He used as an example, President Ahmadinejad's oft-quoted statement in our media that "Israel must be wiped off the map" when in fact no such idiom exists in Farsi. He also

asked Ms. Dumont, "Exactly what has Iran done to the United States?" to which he received no answer.

As to charges regarding Iran's nuclear program, it was brought up that Iran has signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), which US allies Israel, India, and Pakistan have refused to sign. A report was also presented that shows the United Nation's atomic agency has confirmed "significant progress" since May 2007 in Iran's cooperation with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). The news source said this report was bound to cause shivers among the Washington hawks applauding the White House's anti-Iran escalations, ("A small break for Iran" by Kaveh L. Afrasiabi, Asia Times Online). Dr. Afrasiabi is also the author of *Iran's Nuclear Program: Debating Facts Versus Fiction*.

Mr. Banan emphasized the point that, if attacked, Iran would most likely withdraw from the NPT and expedite development of nuclear weapons. Also, an attack of southern Iran would cause a disruption of oil supply lines and would cause significant economic distress worldwide.

Human rights activist and member of AMPS, Jeff Siddiqui, noted there was a parallel example to the present situation with Iran involving North Korea. The Clinton administration was making progress with North Korea on the issue of disarmament. However, once Mr. Bush took office and labeled North Korea a part of the "Axis of Evil," North Korea fast-tracked nuclear weapons development. Now, six years later, we are at exactly the same place as we were before the "Axis of Evil" speech, attempting diplomacy rather than threats.

Mr. Siddiqui further questioned why members of the Arab community have been unable to personally meet with Sen. Murray. He said, since September of 2001, they have been making repeated requests only to be told that Sen. Murray was "busy." Ms. Dumont assured Mr. Siddiqui that she would personally find out why this meeting has not taken place and accepted business

► IRAN WAR continued on page 11

Update on the Revolution at the Olympia Film Society

Volunteer collective, paid members reel out demands

by Adam Broomfield for a collective of concerned OFS members

Where do we stand?

The Olympia Film Society (OFS) board of directors has acted improperly in firing Technical Director Jeffrey Bartone. The flawed procedure for this vote has not been supported or reasonably justified. We are faced with a board that has acted contrary to the bylaws of OFS, yet maintains a lack of concern amid the outcry of its membership. In firing the Technical Director with no plan for his replacement, they have left the Capitol Theater without an overseer of maintenance and vulnerable to equipment failure. Two of our number are licensed electrical

contractors who fear for the safety of our 80-year-old electrical system, currently deprived of any monitoring. In the interest of preserving our organization, it has clearly become time for change at OFS.

This incident has served to highlight a chronic problem within OFS's present structure. Our board of directors, in accordance with present bylaws, is responsible for self-appointing new members. This system was adopted when the organization was young, with only around fifty members. The Board was then made up of working members, people who were involved in daily operations of the theater. The organization has grown to over 2000 people over the past two decades. Now, board members

are often involved only in management. We feel that this detachment, in part, led to recent events.

What's the next step?

In the interest of avoiding problems in the future, we have proposed a set of changes to the bylaws. Foremost, we feel that OFS's membership has grown large enough to necessitate a member-elected board of directors. It is time that the board serves at the will of the membership, ensuring accountability and faithfulness to the spirit of the organization.

A petition, signed by over 200 concerned OFS members was presented to the Board requiring a Special Membership Meeting to

be held on October 13th at 12:00PM. At the meeting, a vote will be taken on whether to ratify the proposed changes to the OFS bylaws. If these changes gain approval, a second vote will be held to make them effective immediately. This will allow an election to be held at the same meeting in which a new representative Board will be assembled. As the present Board has been unresponsive amid uproar over their actions, we feel that suitable recourse is to allow OFS members to decide who will hold Board positions at OFS.

For more information on this issue, go to: www.ofsvolunteers.com

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► **BAIRD** continued from page 3

posed a timeline for withdrawal.”

If by the term “antiwar” we refer to someone who was opposed to starting a war and occupation in Iraq, then Baird could possibly qualify. But if we now mean that antiwar refers to someone who wants the war and occupation to end, Baird would not qualify.

Although Baird has often left accusations of a sudden conversion go unchallenged, he has been explicit a few times, such as in an interview with the Grays Harbor’s *Daily World*, in which he said his stance “is not quite as big of a shift as some would have you believe.” He also said, “Though I believe going in was a terrible mistake, I have steadfastly resisted pulling funds or withdrawing troops. I’ve never agreed to that for the first couple of years.”

Baird was and still is opposed to the war *beginning*, but that is different from advocating or working towards an *end* to the war.

The impression that Baird underwent a 180-degree turn is based on media exaggeration, exploitation in pro-war circles, and false expectations from his antiwar constituents that he was already on their side. Baird is also personally to blame for this misimpression, as he begins every interview by saying how we was initially opposed to the war and believes that the war on Iraq was “one of the greatest foreign policy mistakes in history of this country,” as if that determined his current position on the war.

The only significant change from before his trips to Iraq to after is that he has found the authority to be more vocal about his personal stance, rather than concealing it.

The CODEL trend

Baird’s two brief trips to Iraq are part of a popular trend among Congress members to assert both authority on their individual Iraq positions and to score political points. So far more than three-quarters of the Senate and more than half of the House have visited Iraq. More than half of those have visited Iraq multiple times.

In this last August recess, 38 members of

Congress traveled to Iraq, including Baird, in ten separate congressional delegations, or CODELs, for short.

The VIP tickets to Iraq have become so essential that even if a congress member thought it was just a dog-and-pony show, they had to go there if only to say, “I’ve been there, and it’s a dog-and-pony show.”

These CODEL visits usually last one or two days and involve meetings with Gen. Petraeus, Ambassador Crocker, and other US officials, several PowerPoint presentations, meetings with Iraqi officials, quick dashes outside of the Green Zone to visit a military base, perhaps a marketplace, and a couple of tribal leaders, as well as visiting US troops to show support.

The record number of trips to Iraq held by a Congress member may belong Rep. Chris Shays (R-CT), who has traveled to Iraq a whopping 18 times since the start of the war. Shays was a consistent proponent of the war and occupation until after his 14th trip to Iraq in the fall of 2006, at which point he advocated a timetable for withdrawal. The difference between his 14th trip and his previous ones was that he was facing a tight electoral race against an antiwar opponent and decided to shift his position accordingly. Following his re-election, Shays resumed a strong pro-war stance, most recently visiting Iraq with Brian Baird and declaring the troop surge “a huge success!”

Measuring progress

After a grand total of three days in Iraq, Baird declared that progress is being made. In fact, Baird was already citing progress after his first one-and-a-half-day trip to Iraq in May. With such short trips, Baird is only able to offer anecdotes to support his notion of progress.

His favorite anecdote is the story of an unnamed colonel that goes as follows:

“I met with a colonel for US special forces who buried his own men, who looked me in the eye to say he lost 65 men. Buried 65 of his own men. But now he doesn’t take incoming fire anymore. All they used to do, day after day, is take incoming fire. That’s not



The view of Iraq looks great from here! Iraq summer trip, Aug. 11, 2007, from left to right: Gen. Petraeus, Rep. Baird, Rep. Hall (R-TX), Ambassador Crocker, and Rep. Shays (R-CT)

happening anymore. The facts on the ground are changing.”

Applying a single anecdote to demonstrate that “the facts on the ground are changing” is invalid when the numbers fail to support the anecdote. Although this particular colonel and his soldiers are experiencing fewer attacks, Baird does not explain how the anecdote relates to Iraq as a whole. Examining the fatality count for US soldiers demonstrates that there is no drop in the fatality rate. Instead there has been a rise in fatalities for every month in 2007, compared to the same month in 2006.

Relying on localized anecdotes lead to a false picture of the country. When Baird visited Iraq in May and saw progress being made, it also happened to be the deadliest month for US soldiers since November 2004, and it was the deadliest month for Iraqi civilians for the year. When Baird returned in August and saw more progress, it was the second deadliest month for Iraqi civilians for the year, according to AP.

It is quite revealing that Baird is unable to cite any progress in Iraq other than through specific anecdotes. Yet he has confidently made statements attesting to progress without bothering to qualify them:

“The situation on the ground in Iraq is improving in multiple and important ways”

“I am convinced by the evidence that the situation has at long last begun to change substantially for the better”

“The people, strategies and facts on the ground have changed for the better.”

If we look at the numbers, however, which Baird never bothers to cite, we would see that the number of US deaths have remained high, the number of civilian deaths rose in August, the number of refugees have increased dramatically in 2007, and with no signs of refugees returning. Progress, then, is relegated to personal anecdotes.

The Iranian “threat”

Aside from progress, Baird also cites an Iranian threat as a rationale for staying in Iraq.

Baird acts puzzled that his constituents don’t take the Iranian threat as seriously as he does:

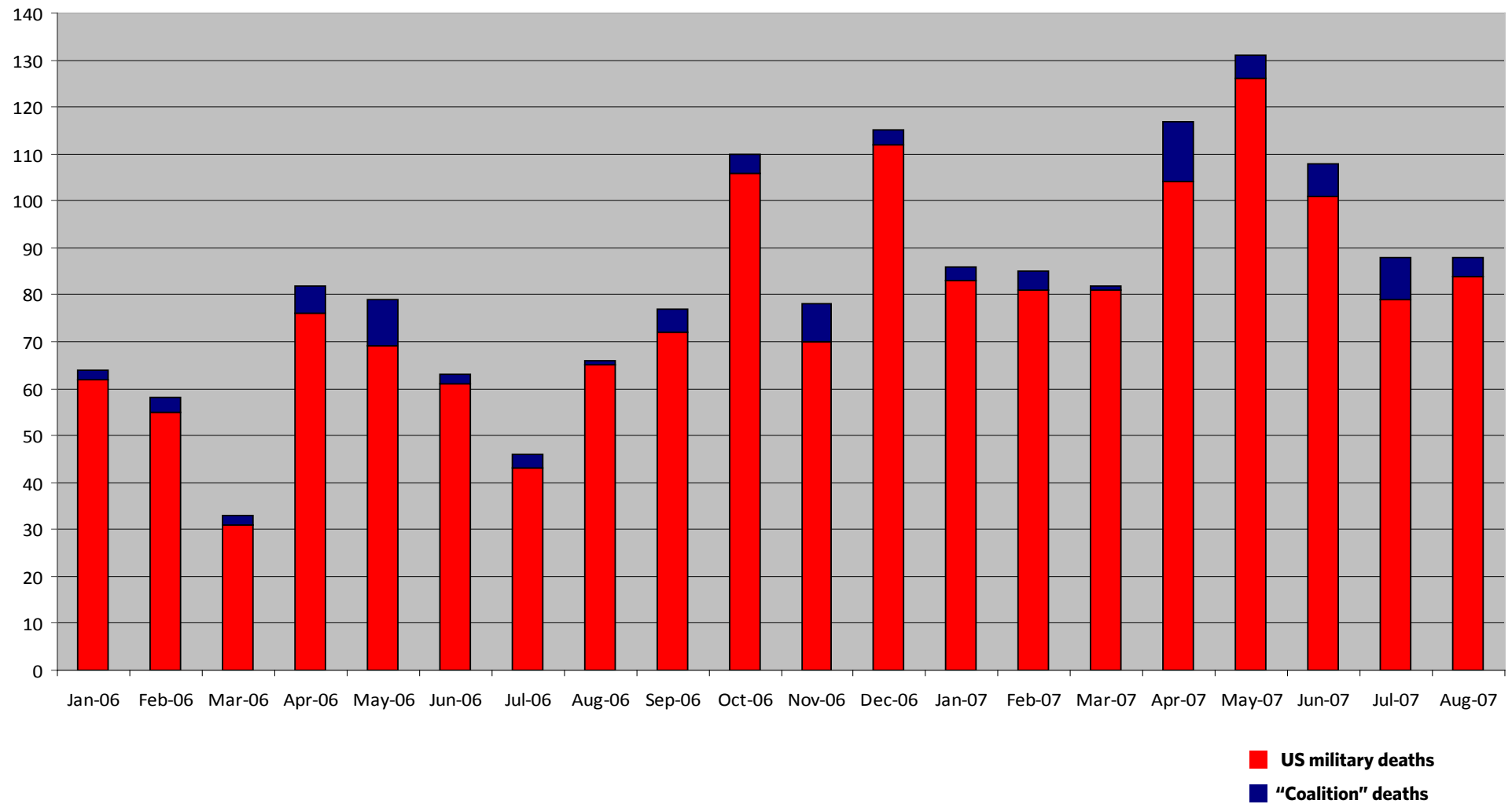
“Like the other night [at the town hall meeting in Vancouver], I talk about the threat Iran poses, everybody stands up and says, ‘Oh, yeah, we heard that about Iraq,’ “ Baird said. “Time out: The U.N. Atomic Energy Commission believes Iran is a significant nuclear threat. They didn’t say Iraq was. That’s a real difference. And if we pretend that because Bush lied once, every other threat isn’t real — that’s dangerous.”

However, this is untrue. IAEA Director General Mohamed ElBaradei has recently stressed that, “Iran does not constitute a certain and immediate threat for the international community.” By referencing

► **BAIRD** continues on the next page

US MILITARY AND “COALITION” DEATHS IN IRAQ

January 2006 to August 2007





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Above: Freedom’s Watch, a White House front group headed primarily by former officials affiliated with the Bush administration, including Ari Fleischer, has produced an ad to defend Baird from the evil clutches of MoveOn.org.

► **BAIRD** continued from previous page

an imaginary IAEA statement, Baird inadvertently drew a comparison to Iraq. In 2002, George Bush cited a nonexistent IAEA report that Saddam had been “six months away from developing a weapon” in order to present a case to invade Iraq.

Promoting the fear of the unknown
Baird has also employed an array hypothetical “what-ifs” in order to make his case that withdrawal would be unthinkable.

At the September 21 Olympia town hall meeting, Baird asked skeptical constituents what they “envision would happen” if the US withdrew from Iraq. The premise was that the worst imaginable things would happen. While no one can say for sure what would happen, we know that it certainly wouldn’t be what Baird envisions.

Speaking to the Olympian editorial board, Baird envisioned:

“What happens to you and you and you and me morally if we withdraw and there’s wholesale slaughter? What happens if a Shi’a theocracy takes over and progressive independent women who are currently in the region are suddenly all forced into burqas and they can’t go to school and -- and they’re stoned to death for learning to read? What happens if we allow that?”

Such hypotheses draw into question what Baird really learned from visiting Iraq and just how much of his current stance could possibly have been informed by his trips to the Middle East.

The burqa is a phenomenon specific to

the Afghanistan region and does not appear in the Middle East. Meanwhile the premise that women would be stoned to death for learning to read is more likely to happen in Wahhabi Saudi Arabia, which is not a Shiite theocracy.

The most prevalent cases of women being stoned to death in Iraq are occurring in Iraqi Kurdistan, and are conducted as honor killings, not as Shiite precepts.

A recently publicized honor killing was that of Du’a Khalil a Yezidi Kurd killed by other Yezidi Kurds, not Muslims, and are derived from cultural practices, not religious. In response to Khalil’s killing, Kurdish women led protests calling on the government to do more to prevent such killings. Unsurprisingly, the US military occupation has done little to prevent honor killings.

Here, Baird was drawing on stereotypes of Muslims, along with his ignorance of distinctions between Shi’a Islam and Salafism/Wahhabism.

Another farfetched scenario that Baird offered was the idea that if the US withdrew, Al-Qaeda in Mesopotamia and Jaish al-Mahdi could become empowered and would “then begin operations on the United States. Is that worth an American life to try and prevent that? I believe it is.”

To address Baird’s rhetorical question appropriately, one could just as well ask if it was worth an American life to prevent the Sandinistas from invading Texas, as the Reagan administration intimated to justify its war on Nicaragua. Baird provides no evidence that AQM or Jaish al-Mahdi has any

designs to invade the United States, other than Bush-style fearmongering.

This fearmongering was also evoked in his discussion with the Olympian editorial board, where Baird asked how the situation would improve if the US withdrew. An editorial board member replied, “It stops Americans from being killed,” to which Baird ominously replied, “Temporarily.”

Baird has also constantly evoked the vision of a “bloodbath” that would occur if the US withdrew. Considering that the number of “coalition” soldiers, civilian contractors, and mercenaries killed is well over 5,000 and more than 30,000 wounded, and that close to a million Iraqis have been killed and more than 4 million Iraqis have been displaced—and considering that all of this has happened under the current US military occupation of Iraq, what, then, is Brian Baird’s definition of a “bloodbath?”

Political risk?

The idea that Baird’s vocal stance on Iraq is a political liability only goes so far. His campaign has over \$800,000 in cash on hand. As a five-term incumbent, he currently has no Republican competitor. Disgruntled Democrats and Greens are looking for a viable candidate to oppose him, but they face a daunting task to find someone for 2008.

Courage is his only asset

Curiously, there are a large number of people who find themselves disagreeing with Baird but respecting him for being vocal and taking a stand.

One of the strangest quotes came from state Rep. Brendan Williams, who said, “I disagree with him on the war 100 percent, and I support him 100 percent.” Olympia mayor Mark Foutch said, “I’ve always admired Brian, thought he was a courageous person, and he’s proving it again.” The *Longview Daily News* proclaimed that Baird was “show[ing] backbone.” Dwight Pelz, chairman of the Democratic Party of Washington, said, “I respect his courage.... Many people don’t agree with Brian, but I respect him as a person of principle who calls it as he sees it.”

The *Daily Astorian* claimed that Baird was proving himself to be a “leader.” Baird’s “Baghdad epiphany” introduces the novel possibility that it is grounded in genuine courage and principle.

Baird has emerged as the archetypal man who lives by his principles, who sticks to his guns despite the overwhelming disapproval of the majority, thus showing both bravery and integrity.

Yet it should be asked whether such respect would be applicable to George Bush, who is sticking to his guns and insisting on staying the course despite his low approval ratings. And should the same respect be accorded to Reed Walters, the prosecutor in the case of the Jena 6, who has remained stubborn despite international outcry and who refuses to acknowledge any racial component in the prosecutions? Should Walters be praised for his intractability?

In a position where his decisions help determine the fate of countless Iraqis and US soldiers, Baird is being rewarded not for making the best choices, but for showing “resolve” and “sportsmanship” in making the wrong decisions.

On September 17, Baird spoke in DC at a dinner for the right-wing pro-war group Vets for Freedom, where he shared the stage with prominent neocon Frederick Kagan and General (ret.) Jack Keane, the authors of the troop “surge.” There, Baird gave a speech that was apparently more aggressive than the tone used in his recent town hall meetings. Baird reportedly lambasted Congress members for not “shutting the hell up” and listening to Petraeus and Crocker’s testimonies. Referring to his political career, he proclaimed, “I can get another job; I can’t get another country,” which was received with a standing ovation.

Baird may have found some new friends in DC, but when it comes to the Iraq war, the 3rd Congressional District has lost any representation.

Update on welfare organizing POWER to the people

by Monica Peabody

What has your local welfare rights group in Olympia been doing since you heard from us in the June *Works in Progress* (“What’s Up With WROC?”) We have been continuing the daily work of giving information to low income people about their rights at the welfare office, providing witnesses to people for their welfare appointments, doing weekly outreach at the welfare office with coffee and pastries, providing volunteer, intern and work study opportunities for office and community organizing work, insisting the voice of low-income parents be present at legislative and policy hearings, educating our communities about the realities of families in poverty and pointing out through direct action the inequities people in poverty face every day.

We have been moving forward with the guidance of a ten member temporary Board of Directors who have called monthly board/member meetings to craft vision, values, mission and to choose a name. Because our decisions are made through consensus, this work is progressing slowly, but we are proud to present our new name and vision:

Parents Organizing for Welfare and Economic Rights (POWER) envisions a world where children and care giving are truly valued, and the devastation of poverty has been eradicated.

We appreciate the help of Grace Cox in guiding us through the consensus process.

Thanks to all of you who have held or participated in local fundraisers, made donations, or volunteered, we have been able to keep our office running and pay our bills.

Thanks to all of you who have held or participated in local fundraisers, made donations, or volunteered, we have been able to keep our office running and pay our bills. Thanks to the Center for Community Organizing at Evergreen, we have a work-study student as staff.

We still need your support. We now have an umbrella organization, the International Trauma Treatment Program, which is sharing its tax-exempt status while we continue working toward our own. Your donations are now tax-deductible! Consider a small monthly donation or a larger annual donation. We have applied for a grant through the Human Services Review Council. If you know someone on the

council, let them know the importance of supporting local welfare rights work. If you would like to help us with grant writing, technical skills, (we need to build a new database) or other volunteer positions, contact us at POWER, 701 Franklin Street SE, Olympia, WA 98501, (360) 352-9716, welfare-rights@riseup.net. We still hold volunteer meetings every Wednesday at 1:30 at our office in the Payne Room of the First Christian Church, where you can plug into our work and learn to make a sock monkey.

Consider making a donation of arts or crafts for our winter art celebration and sale. (Artists can keep up to 50% of the proceeds).

Please see the announcements section for details about the upcoming Mom’s Night Out (page 2) and our next POWER Membership/Board meeting (page 5).

Illustration by Jared Souza



Remembering and recognizing injustice today

by Daisy Ouye

October marks 62 years since the closing of Topaz Internment Camp. The site was recognized this year as a National Historic Landmark thanks to the diligence of the Topaz Museum Board and other supporters. They believe it is important that we remember the strength of the people interned, as well as injustices of former actions of the US federal government.

In central Utah, Topaz held over 8,000 of the 110,000 Japanese Americans unconstitutionally detained during WWII. Japanese Americans who lived along the west coast were treated as a threat to national security. Entire families were stripped of their land, homes, all belongings (except one suitcase), and the freedom that America promises.

Eleven of my partner’s family members were detained at Topaz. We got the opportunity to interview two of them at a family reunion last year. They were on their way to a movie when the bombing of Pearl Harbor took place. The two 19-year-old girls, Hatsue and Margaret, along with another friend, had the car radio on. “Japan just bombed the United States....We gotta go home,” Margaret said as they relived the moment.

Hatsue added, That’s what we did and we pulled the shades down.”

I asked them why, and Margaret said, “We were afraid because of the discrimination. They never considered us American citizens.” She casually imitated the kind of slurs they’d become used to: “There goes another Jap.”

Anti-Japanese government propaganda created a backdrop of fear and hate that permeated society. It was this atmosphere that made these detention camps possible.

Under Executive Order 9066, “All persons of Japanese Ancestry” were instructed to report to so-called ‘civil stations’. “My family and Hatsue’s family, we all went on the same bus to the Tanforan Racetrack. That was our first home.” Margaret, who turned 86 this year, is wonderfully good-natured. She told us that “Families of four or less lived in horse stalls, and of course some families would write ‘Seabiscuit’ above the door,” she laughed with Hatsue. “And Hats,” she joked, “She was lucky. She had a big family. She had the honor of sleeping in the tar paper barracks. The floors were wide boards. I remember grass would grow between the boards. They’d be mowing the floors.” They laughed at the absurdity of it all.

Hatsue Ouye and Margaret Ouye were childhood friends, who married my partner, DK Ouye’s great uncles, Seigo and Joe. They giggled like schoolgirls and we were enthralled. Then the mood changed when Hatsue said “I had a scholarship to go to school, but the war just ended everything.”

After six months at Tanforan, they were taken on a train to Delta where most of

them would stay for the remainder of the war. They truly made homes of the windowless tarpaper barracks that stood in rows behind barbed wire. With armed guards in towers watching, they carried on with life, making gardens, art, and their own newspaper and school, all under a common philosophy of “Shikata Ga Nai” or “It cannot be helped.”

In February of 1943, the Army’s loyalty registration and recruitment program required detainees over the age of 17 to answer a series of questions. The two that stood out asked them if they would swear allegiance to America and denounce Japan, and if they would serve in the US military anywhere they were ordered to.

“On the questionnaire—28 and 29,” Margaret said, “I feel I’m an American citizen. I gotta do whatever my government says. My whole family said yes. And now they talk about this no/no and the yes/yes people. They were considered no/no dogs—sent to Tule Lake. We were the yes/yes. We were supposed to be the better citizens.”

Hatsue’s family members also answered yes. “I guess, in a way, the war completely disrupted our family,” she said. That was an understatement.

Many of those who responded to the questions did so with a qualified yes-if their civil rights were restored. The War Department replied that only mutual confidence and cooperation could restore loyal Japanese Americans to their civil rights. The present program was not complete rehabilitation but the first step in that direction. The US government maintained that it had evidenced its faith in loyal Japanese Americans by giving them the opportunity to serve their country...to demonstrate to the American people that they have faith in America.

As a result, one third of the no responses changed to yes, including the answer given by my partner’s great uncle, Tomatsu Ouye. We are fortunate to have obtained a recorded interview from 1983 done by a high school student with Tomatsu. He was detained at Topaz when he was drafted into the Army.

“If none of us had fought in the war we... would have been in the same shoe as before the war started. We would work for peanuts,” Tomatsu said.

They wanted to prove loyalty, gain release for their parents, or just have the ability to assimilate. They would become the 442nd, the most decorated unit in US history.

“Roosevelt wanted one regiment, or division if he could get it, all of one race: Japanese. So he didn’t care whether we got exterminated or lived. He didn’t care...But it turned out the other way.”

This segregated unit was sent on the most dangerous of missions, including the rescue of the “Lost Battalion.” They suffered 800 casualties to rescue 211 men. The regiment from Texas, named them “honorary Texans.”

► INJUSTICE continued on next page



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Photo of Topaz Internment Camp by Daisy Ouye.

► **INJUSTICE** continued from previous page

Tomatsu received seven citations for bravery and made it home to his family. More than half of the 18,000 Japanese Americans who served as the 442nd died, literally, fighting for their freedom.

We visited Topaz two years ago for the dedication of a new site marker and a veteran's memorial that would bear Tomatsu's name. The previous marker was used for target practice and the vast acreage was used as an unofficial garbage dump and place for underage drinking parties. Small signs marked locations of the library, metal shop, and where some of the other buildings were on what is now a National Historic Site.

The Topaz Museum Board, now with federal backing and protection, will continue archaeology work, curation of artifacts, recording of oral history, and plans to offer guided tours at the site.

We asked Hatsue and Margaret if they saw similarities between the government's actions of the 40's and those of today

Margaret said, "Now it's all come out about the no/no and the yes/yes. I read the Japanese newspaper and that keeps coming out. This new Lieutenant Watada. He said he's not gonna go fight in Iraq. He said that's not a real war. Now the yes/yes

seem to say your government paid to send you to school you gotta do whatever they say. The no/nos say he's brave and he'll do anything else, just not fight in Iraq, so that evens it out. He's speaking his opinion," she summed up with a smile. Margaret was born Masako and that is the name on her birth certificate but she has gone by the name Margaret since she was a girl and a teacher said her name was "too Japanesey, too hard to remember. As of today, you're Margaret," a name her mother had trouble pronouncing.

After consideration, Hatsue told us, "One thing I can say, they kept it a secret. The people back east didn't know what was happening to us."

There are many parallels. Anti-Muslim and anti-Arab hostility and black sites for unlawful detainment that includes torture are today's backdrops. New veterans memorials will be built. Remembering and understanding the realities of this history is truly important. But it is not enough just to remember. We must learn to recognize, speak out, and take action against the injustices of today.

Daisy Ouye is a frequent contributor to Works in Progress.

► **IRAN WAR** continued from page 7

cards from Mr. Siddiqui and Mr. S. Arsalan Bukhari, President of CAIR, who also was a member of the delegation.

Ms. Dumont found it hard to believe that the Bush administration is actually contemplating extending the war in the Middle East and was quick to say the Democrats would not allow this to happen.

We presented to Ms. Dumont a binder of documents backing up our claim that in fact military action was being planned against Iran. As an example, a comprehensive 80-page study written by Dr. Dan Plesch and Martin Butcher of the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies concludes that the Bush administration is indeed planning to attack Iran.

The study concludes that the US has made military preparations to destroy Iran's nuclear energy, regime, armed forces, state apparatus, and economic infrastructure within days if not hours of Bush giving the order. The US is not publicizing the scale of these preparations to deter Iran, tending to make confrontation more likely. The US retains the option of avoiding war, but using its forces as part of an overall strategy of shaping Iran's actions. (See full study at: www.rawstory.com/images/other/Iran-Study082807a.pdf)

In addition, Barnett R. Rubin, PhD, has written in his article, "Theses on Policy Towards Iran," that "all military equipment is in place for such an attack." Dr. Rubin also notes there are credible reports of a concerted campaign to build public support for an attack on Iran. He reports that the

ate, and asked Ms. Dumont how Sen. Murray had voted on the most recent amendment, titled "Iran Democracy Amendment." It was explained to Ms. Dumont that this was terminology for regime change and not actually Iranian "democracy." This amendment restored the Bush administration's request in the Fiscal Year 2008 State and Foreign Operations Appropriations Act for \$75 million, which had been cut by two-thirds to \$25 million by the Senate Subcommittee on State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs earlier this year to provide "support for dissidents and democrats inside Iran."

Ms. Dumont was unfamiliar with this amendment and, after reading it, appeared

Mr. Banan also expressed concern that if the US did go to war with Iran that many Iranian-Americans would be rounded up and sent to detention camps similar to what happened with the Japanese during WWII.

genuinely surprised that it had passed the Senate. She told us she did not know how Sen. Murray had voted and when we asked her front office to check the computer, they also could not find her vote. Subsequent to our visit, we discovered that this amendment had passed the Senate by a unanimous voice count. A "voice count" allows for the vote to go through without being recorded. However, since there were no dissenting voters, this reveals both our senators voted yes to this amendment.

Mr. Banan also expressed concern that if the US did go to war with Iran that many Iranian-Americans would be rounded up and sent to detention camps similar to what happened with the Japanese during World War II. Ms. Dumont at first seemed to brush off this concern but Mr. Siddiqui who is a hu-

Ms. Dumont at first seemed to brush off this concern but Mr. Siddiqui said that 14,000 Arabs living in the US have already been imprisoned and have had their civil rights taken away from them.

"most important goal is to intimidate Democrats in Congress...so that they will not use the power of the purse or congress' war powers to impede the attacks." (See full report at icga.blogspot.com/2007/09/theses-on-policy-toward-iran)

This information seemed to take Ms. Dumont by surprise.

Aditya Ganapathiraju, a student at the University of Washington, shared with Ms. Dumont a resolution he sponsored which the Associated Students of the University of Washington passed on Mar. 27. The resolution states opposition to extra-congressional war with Iran (and can be found at senate.asuw.org/legislation/13/R/R-13-22.html). It contains a wealth of information supporting the thesis that the Bush administration is laying the groundwork for war with Iran.

The delegation also presented amendments sponsored by Sen. Lieberman, which have unanimously been passed by the Sen-

man rights activist reinforced Mr. Banan's concerns and said that 14,000 Arabs living in the US have already been imprisoned and have had their civil rights taken away from them.

The delegation concluded by presenting a letter to Sen. Murray from the Green Party of Washington State, as well as back-up documents, and received assurances from Ms. Dumont that it would be passed on to Sen. Murray's office in Washington, DC.

The Green Party of Washington State felt it was important to bring this type of delegation to Sen. Murray as one of our 10 Key Values is personal and global responsibility. Wishing to join with people and organizations around the world to foster peace, economic justice, and the health of our planet, Green Party members take a consistent position in support of international law and for human rights. For these reasons, we stand with our Iranian brothers and sisters to strongly object to any military action against Iran. We feel this would not only invite nuclear retaliation from other nations and groups and plunge the Middle East into chaos, but also do irreparable harm to this planet, not to mention the millions of lives that would be directly affected by this insane course of action.

Sen. Murray did vote against the 2003 resolution to invade Iraq and Ms. Dumont appeared both knowledgeable and sympathetic to our concerns. However, there will be a great deal of pressure on Sen. Murray to not impede Bush in his purported attempts to keep us "safe from terrorists."

Congress needs to hear from us: letters, phone calls, and visits such as this, as well as letters to the editor of all our local newspapers. It will take a great deal of pressure to counter any campaign that builds public support for the war.

Dr. Frances Hogan is a member of Physicians for Social Responsibility and the Green Party. She currently lives on Vashon Island.

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WORKS IN PROGRESS

Meta Hogan on the campaign trail!



PROGRESS IN IRAQ IS PERMANENTLY RIGHT AROUND THE CORNER

8/27/07: I think **six more months** of American troops can help stabilize and secure the situation. —Rep. Brian Baird, CNN's Situation Room with Wolf Blitzer

7/3/03: I think the **next few months** will be **crucial**. —Sen. Pat Roberts (R-KS)

8/31/03: If we do not meaningully improve services and security in the **next few months**, it may be too late. —Sen. John McCain, *Washington Post op-ed*

9/10/03: The **next three to six months** will be **critical**. —Sen. John McCain, *"American Morning," CNN*

11/30/03: The **next six months** in Iraq—which will determine the prospects for democracy-building there—are the **most important six months** in US foreign policy in a long, long time. —Thomas Friedman, *New York Times*

1/5/04: We are about to enter into a **very critical six months**. —Tony Blair, *CNN*

1/8/04: America has about **six months** to break the resistance. —Will Marshall, Progressive Policy Institute president

5/18/04: Our efforts are approaching a **crucial moment**. —George Bush, *speech to AIPAC*

5/24/04: Iraq now faces a **critical moment**. —George Bush

6/3/04: It might be over in a week, it might be over in a month, it might be over in **six months**, but what's the rush? Can we let this play out, please? —Thomas Friedman, *NPR's Fresh Air*

6/4/04: The terrorists know that this is a **very critical time**. —John McCain, *"American Morning," CNN*

6/25/04: "US General says **next few months** key to Iraq's future" —Gen. George Casey, *headline from Boston Globe*

7/22/04: The **next few months** will be **critical**. —Sen. Richar Lugar (R-IN)

10/3/04: What we're gonna find out, Bob, in the **next six to nine months** is whether we have liberated a country or uncorked a civil war. —Thomas Friedman, *CBS's Face the Nation*

11/28/04: Iraq will be won or lost in the **next few months**. —Thomas Friedman, *New York Times*

1/30/05: What the administration does in these **next few days** will decide the outcome of Iraq. —John Kerry

5/30/05: I think they're **in the last throes**, if you will, of the insurgency. —Dick Cheney

6/20/05: This is a **very critical period** in Iraq. —Scott McClellan, White House Press Secretary

6/27/05: This is a **time of testing**. It is a **critical moment** in Iraq. —Scott McClellan

6/29/05: I think the **next nine months** are **critical**. —Zalmay Khalilzad, US Ambassador to Iraq

7/18/05: I think the **next 18 months** are **critical**. —Gen. (Ret.) Barry R. McCaffrey

8/04/05: The **next months** will be **critical**. —John Bolton, US Ambassador to UN

9/25/05: I think we're in the **end game** now.... I think we're in a **six-month window**... —Thomas Friedman, *NBC's Meet the Press*

9/28/05: That will become clear in the **next few months** as we see just what kind of minority the Sunnis in Iraq intend to be. —Thomas Friedman, *New York Times*

9/29/05: The **next 75 days** are going to be critical for what happens. —Gen. George Casey

10/5/05: Developments over the **next several months** will be **critical**. —Gen. Petraeus

10/25/05: I believe **within 12 months**, Iraq will be well on its way towards success. —Zalmay Khalilzad

10/26/05: We are entering a **make-or-break six-month period**. —John Kerry

11/10/05: This is a **critical time** in Iraq. —Stephen Hadley, National Security Advisor

11/17/05: We've got, I think, **six months**. —Sen. John Warner (R-VA)

11/21/05: You only have about the **next six months**. —Sen. John Biden (D-DE)

11/27/05: I think we have a **six-month window** here to get it right. —Sen. John Biden (D-DE)

11/27/05: We've got to stay firm for the **next six months**. It is a critical period... —Sen. John Warner (R-VA), *NBC's Meet the Press*

12/4/05: We will probably see significant progress in the **next six months to a year**. —John McCain, *NBC's Meet the Press*

12/17/05: The last two weeks have been critically important and I believe may be seen as a **turning point** in the war in Iraq and the war on terrorism. —Joseph Lieberman, *AP*

12/18/05: I think the **next six months** really are going to determine whether this country is going to collapse into three parts or more or whether it's going to come together. —Thomas Friedman, *CBS's Face the Nation*

12/18/05: **Next six months** are going to tell the story. —Joseph Biden, *CBS's Face the Nation*

12/20/05: We're at the beginning of, I think, the decisive—I would say—**six months** in Iraq. —Thomas Friedman, *PBS's Charlie Rose Show*

12/21/05: The only thing I am certain of is that in the wake of this election, Iraq will be what Iraq is make of it—and the **next six months** will tell us a lot. —Thomas Friedman, *New York Times*

1/23/06: I think that we're going to know **after six to nine months** whether this project has any chance of succeeding. —Thomas Friedman

1/31/06: I think we're in the **end game** there, in the **next three to six months**. —Thomas Friedman, *CBS*

3/2/06: I think we are in the **end game**. The **next six to nine months** are going to tell whether we can produce a decent outcome in Iraq. —Thomas Friedman, *NBC's Today*

4/19/06: The **next six months**...in my view are the most **critical** in the whole process. —Gov. Tom Vilsack

4/23/06: I think we're in the **end game** in the sense it's going to be decided in **the next weeks or months** whether there's an Iraq there worth investing in. —Thomas Friedman, *CNN*

5/11/06: Well, I think that we're going to find out, Chris, in the **next year to six months**—probably sooner—whether a decent outcome is possible there, and I think we're going to have to just let this play out. —Thomas Friedman

6/1/06: I know it's the cliché of the war. But we'll know in the **next six months**—and this time, it'll be **the last next six months** we get. —Army counterinsurgency specialist to Joe Klein, *Time Magazine*

6/4/06: The **next six months** will be critical in terms of reining in the danger of civil war. If the government fails to achieve this, it will have lost its opportunity. —Zalmay Khalilzad, *Der Spiegel*

6/7/06: "[Sen. Bayh] said he believes the **next six months** 'are going to be **critically important** to future developments in Iraq.'" —Sen. Evan Bayh (D-IN), *quoted in AP*

6/11/06: I think between now and Christmas is the **crucial time**. —Gen. (Ret.) Barry R. McCaffrey, *NBC's Meet the Press*

6/13/06: We have a window (or opportunity) of **five months—maybe seven** at the most to affect change. —Maj. Gen. Bill Caldwell

6/26/06: The **next five to six months** are critical for [the Iraqi] government. —Zalmay Khalilzad

7/7/06: **By the end of this year**, we will begin to draw down significant numbers of American troops. —Joe Lieberman, *Washington Post*

9/25/06: [Maliki] has a **window of a couple months**. —Zalmay Khalilzad, *Washington Post*

10/5/06: The **next six months** will determine the future of Iraq. —Gen. George Casey, *AFP*

10/19/06: This is a **very critical time**. —John McCain, *CBS Evening News*

11/12/06: If you talk to military experts, we're in a **critical and crucial time**. We're either going to lose this thing or win this thing **within the next several months**. —John McCain

11/26/06: We have about **another four to six months** to get this right. —Sen. John Cornyn (R-TX), *CNN's Late Edition*

11/26/06: My guess is **next four to six months** are **crucial**. —Gen. Barry McCaffrey

12/17/06: We've got to turn the corner on this thing, and we've got to do it, I would say, in the **next six months**. —Sen. John Thune (R-SD)

1/8/07: I think in the **next few months** you're going to know whether or not this is working....At **six months** we'll know.... —Condoleezza Rice

1/14/07: We'll find out **very shortly**. —Sen. Mitch McConnell (R-KY)

1/23/07: I think it'll be rather clear in the **next sixty to ninety days** as to whether this plan's going to work. —Rep. John Boehner (R-OH), *CNN*

1/24/07: **Probably six months to a year**, for everything. —Sen. Norm Coleman (R-MN)

2/4/07: ...we can know fairly well in a **few months**. —John McCain, *ABC's This Week*

2/24/07: The logical thing is to wait **four to six months**. —Michael O'Hanlon

2/26/07: We are at a **critical moment** in Iraq—at the beginning of a key battle. —Joe Lieberman

2/27/07: The US has **six months** to win the war in Iraq —Top advisors to Gen. Petraeus, *Guardian*

4/30/07: I think we'll know **by September** really how it's going. —Gen. David Petraeus

5/21/07: "Iraqi government efforts **'in the coming months** will be **critical** to whether or not' the country succeeds." —Gen. David Petraeus, *quoted in AP*

6/28/07: This is a **decisive phase**....That's one of our favorite jokes. It's **always a decisive phase**. But this time, I guess you'd have to say, it actually is. —Petraeus staff member to Joe Klein, *Time Magazine*

8/5/07: Give it **six more months or so**, maybe **nine more months**. —Michael O'Hanlon, *Fox News Sunday*

Works in Progress
PO Box 295
Olympia WA 98507